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MEMOIR

OF

ADMIRAL SIR GRAHAM MOORE,

G.C.B. G.C.M.G.

Received from the Author
April 25. 1844.

MEMOIR

OF

ADMIRAL SIR GRAHAM MOORE,

G.C.B. G.C.M.G.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR ROBERT GARDINER, K.C.B.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1844.

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TO

THE OFFICERS OF

HER MAJESTY'S NAVY AND ARMY,

THE FOLLOWING MEMOIR

OF

ADMIRAL SIR GRAHAM MOORE

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED, BY

A BROTHER OFFICER.

MARCH, 1844.

MEMOIR.

THE writer of the following memoir, would have desired to have written the life of Sir Graham Moore, but circumstances prevent an undertaking of such length. With the authentic documents, however, which he possesses, he feels it to be a duty, both to the officers of the Navy and Army, to give some form of publicity, to a character so generally popular in both services. To those officers who knew him, the difficulty of doing any justice to the subject, will be well understood. To those who knew him only by reputation, the writer offers no apology for an attempt which he is aware is imperfect, for he knows it will be received by them, with feelings similar to his own; a desire to derive and impart benefit, from distinguished example, and of marking respect to the memory of an officer, whose professional career, and private life, equally contributed to uphold the name, and raise the character of her Majesty's service.

The naval actions of the last war, have long been recorded as matter of history. It is not, therefore, intended on this occasion, to enter into any narrative of events, beyond those in which Sir Graham Moore was personally concerned.

The disposition for a sailor's or a soldier's life shews itself in very early years. Sir Graham Moore entered the navy at the age of thirteen, in 1777, full of all the ardent feelings which belong to that noble service.

A war broke out with France in 1778, and he had first the honour of being under fire, on board the Trident, in Lord Byron's action in the West Indies. He remained employed in the West Indies and North America till 1780, when he returned to England, and joined the Channel fleet in the Champion. In the mean time, war had also been declared against Spain and Holland.

In March, 1782, he was promoted into the Crown, and joined the fleet under Lord Howe's command off Ireland.

Early in September of the same year, Lord Howe's fleet sailed from England with a convoy of transports laden with stores, ammunition, and provision, destined for the relief of Gibraltar, then, as it is known, besieged by a combined army of French and Spanish troops. They rounded Cape St. Vincent on the 9th of October,

and entered the Straits on the 11th, but could not effect their object till the 15th and 18th; the whole of the convoy having been unfortunately blackstrapped on the 11th.

The following extract from Sir Graham Moore's journal will be found an interesting account of the movements of the enemy's combined fleets and our own on that occasion; and shews his observation and manner of viewing events, while yet a very young officer.

"October 10. The fleet making the best of their way towards the Straits. In the forenoon, the admiral made Captain Reeve's signal. He returned soon, and informed us, that the combined fleets, consisting of 49 sail of the line, were lying in the Bay of Gibraltar, determined to prevent our relieving that fortress. Orders for clearing ship, and getting every thing ready for action. Lay to all night, the wind blowing very fresh from the westward.

"October 11. This morning the wind abating, the admiral began to form the line of battle, which, as soon as he effected, he made the signal to bear away for the land, which, upon the weather clearing a little, we perceived to be Cape Spartel, on the Barbary shore. In the evening, the transports were sent ahead, I believe with orders to make the best of their way into Gibraltar Bay, under cover of a thick haze which then prevailed. The

rest of the fleet, in order of battle, with their men all at quarters. At 10 in the night, we saw the Rock of Gibraltar, bearing west of us, three or four miles' distance. At midnight we passed the rock: the night being very dark, we lost sight of the admiral; but seeing several of the fleet laying to, we did the same. A strong easterly current, which always prevails in the Gut, drove us a considerable way to the eastward of the Rock.

"October 12. This morning we had the mortification to perceive, that the greatest part, if not all of the transports, had missed the Rock; and the most part of them, had driven up to the eastward a great way. Beating to windward all night, with three other men-of-war, having dull-sailing transports in tow.

"October 13. Made no way: wind still continuing to the westward. In the afternoon, we perceived the admiral making several signals, which, from the distance we were from him, we could not clearly understand. We thought we saw a signal to call in all ships detached from the fleet; and another to prepare for battle. Captain Reeve, supposing that the enemy's fleet were in sight, waited impatiently for seeing the Dublin (which was to windward of us, and consequently could see the signals more clearly) cast off her tow; which as she did, we followed her example, and made the best of our way to join the fleet,

which we did, a little after sunset. We perceived the enemy to windward of us. Lord Howe made sail over to the Barbary shore all night.

" October 14. This morning, saw the combined fleets over upon the Spanish shore, trying to keep betwixt us and Gibraltar, to prevent our throwing the succours in. The fleet and convoy stretching over to the coast of Barbary.

" October 15. In the evening, being close to the Barbary shore, the admiral hove to with the fleet. The admiral made the frigates' signals, and sent them over to Gibraltar with the transports that were then in company, amounting to 17 or 18 sail, which all got safe in. The fleet stretched well over in the night, to keep well off from both shores. Hove to at midnight.

" October 16. The admiral made our signal, to look out in the north-east bearings, the weather being very thick. The whole fleet were becalmed a little to the eastward of Gibraltar; and a great swell setting them right upon the Spanish lines, our ship, if she had been a mile further in than she was, would have been cannonaded from their forts; and, as well as several other ships, must inevitably have gone ashore, had not a small air of wind sprung up from the shore, which they immediately took advantage of, and stood off shore.

" October 18. Eleven more of the dispersed convoy got safely into Gibraltar.

"October 19. At daylight we discovered the combined fleet to windward of us. We immediately made the signal, and bore down towards our fleet. We made the signal to the admiral, that the enemy's fleet were close hauled on the larboard tack. Lord Howe made the signal for the fleet to form into three divisions. The combined fleets kept close hauled. We stood away under an easy sail for the Straits' mouth. The enemy stood after us. When we were abreast of the Rock, we were joined by the Buffalo. We got through the Straits before sunset, when we perceived the combined fleets still standing towards us. At 12 o'clock at night, the admiral made the signal for the fleet to haul upon the wind, on the larboard tack.

"October 20. Early in the morning, Lord Howe made the signal for the fleet to form the order of battle; the enemy bearing down towards us; Cape Spartel bearing east, at the distance of 7 leagues. At eight in the morning, Lord Howe made the signal for the fleet to make sail, standing close to the wind. Employed preparing for action.

"Moderate breezes and calm weather. The enemy stood down towards us till they came within five miles of us, when they hauled their wind, and began to form their line. From two o'clock in the evening till six, the two fleets remained abreast of one another. Their fleet con-

sisted of forty-six ships of the line; ours of thirty-four. As we were to leeward, we could not attack them. We therefore waited for them patiently, (within random shot of them,) in hopes of their coming down upon us. Their leading ship was a French first rate; ours, the Goliah seventy-four, commanded by Sir Hyde Parker. They seemed to be considering whether to attack us or not. At sunset, a signal was made from one of their frigates, upon which their van bore down upon ours, firing, when their shot could hardly reach our van. The Crown was the second headmost ship, in the centre division. At seven o'clock, the firing was almost general on both sides. The enemy kept close to the wind, and continued to fire, although at a great distance.

"After the action had continued for about two hours in this manner, two of the enemy's ships bore down, and made a shew of attacking the Alexander and us. When they thought they had come pretty near us, they fired several broadsides at us. We then discharged all our guns at them six or seven times, which we imagined did them some damage, as they hauled their wind close, and were soon after out of gun-shot. The firing soon after ceased entirely in the van, but still continued with great briskness in the rear; which we afterwards found was occasioned by the enemy making an attempt to cut off our rear, but they

were received so warmly by them, that they were forced to give up all thoughts of succeeding; and accordingly, at half-past ten o'clock, the firing ceased on both sides—the enemy having hauled close to the wind, and the English fleet hauling to the wind and bringing to.

"October 21. Saw the enemy's fleet to windward of us. They were close hauled, standing to the westward, but did not indicate an intention to attack us. Our fleet continued upon the same tack as the enemy. It being little wind, the ships which had received any damage took the opportunity of repairing them."

The two fleets continued in this position throughout the 21st. On the following morning the enemy's fleet were not in sight. They had made for Cadiz; where they anchored on the 22nd. Lord Howe having ascertained that they had returned into port, and having himself effected his object in throwing the supplies into Gibraltar, made sail for England.

In this affair the English lost sixty-eight men killed, and upwards of 200 wounded.

Shortly after this, peace was signed with France, Spain, Holland, and America; and Lieutenant Moore quitted England to reside on the continent. In the following year, however, there commenced a stir and bustle of armaments going on in our ports, and he returned to England. He was ap-

pointed to the Perseus in December of that year, and subsequently to the Dido and the Adamant. While serving in the Adamant on the Halifax station, in 1791, he was promoted to be Master and Commander. On his return to England he immediately solicited command, and in January, 1792, was appointed to the Bonetta.

In April, 1794, he was made Post Captain, and immediately appointed to the Syren, and employed in the Channel and North Sea till May, 1795, when he joined the squadron of frigates under Sir Richard Strachan's command on the coast of Normandy.

While at anchor off Cape Carteret, on the morning of the 9th of May, thirteen vessels came round Cape La Hague, keeping close in shore, steering to the south-west. The squadron weighed without signal, to prevent alarm, and immediately gave chase. As soon as day broke, they appeared to have only two gun brigs and a cutter with them. On perceiving the English squadron they all hauled in for the beach, with the exception of the cutter and a brig, which got ashore in a sandy bay.

The Melampus, (Sir Richard Strachan,) followed by the Syren, soon got close in, and opened their fire as soon as their shot would tell. The whole fell into the hands of the squadron, with the exception of the cutter. They proved to be laden

with timber and stores for the French navy. A barbette battery, under which they sought cover, caused great mischief, shattering the capstan of the Syren, and cutting up the rigging of the Melampus. This was a very well conducted business, and "pleased Sir Richard Strachan very much."

In September, Sir Richard Strachan took command of the Diamond, and Captain Moore succeeded him in the command of the Melampus. In a note in Sir Graham Moore's journal he remarks, "There is the strongest attachment to each other among the crews of these three frigates (Melampus, Diamond, and Syren). I have always encouraged and promoted it as much as I could, as I think it of very great importance to the service, that ships acting together should be on the most cordial terms with each other."

On the morning of the 13th of November, the Melampus gave chase to an enemy endeavouring to run for Cherbourg; but seeing she must come within range of the Melampus's guns if she persisted, she kept to windward of Cape Barfleur, and ran ashore in the entrance of that port. She was a new corvette out of Havre, a remarkable fine ship, mounting eighteen twenty-four pounders. She had naval and military stores on board for Brest. She became a complete wreck.

The following day, the Melampus chased a sail

steering to the westward. It was not till three in the afternoon that she began to throw her bow chasers over her, upon which she hoisted French colours, and yawed in her course, to admit of her firing her stern chasers. On the Melampus closing on her near enough to fire a broadside, she discharged all her guns in the air, and struck. She proved to be the national corvette L'Etna, of eighteen long twelve pounders, from Havre; and had on board a considerable quantity of naval and military stores for Brest, and a hundred cases of Jesuits' bark, of great value. This vessel was afterwards commissioned in the English navy, as the Cormorant sloop of war.

On the 24th of December, while in company with the other frigates, chase was given to a brig, which endeavoured to run ashore under the batteries to the southward of Cape Flamonville; but the Melampus closed with her, under the high land of the Cape, and, by her fire, obliged her to stand out and surrender. She proved to be L'Esperance, of fourteen guns.

In September, 1797, the Melampus was withdrawn from Sir Richard Strachan's squadron, and joined Lord Bridport's fleet, the frigates of which were formed into two squadrons, commanded by Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Edward Pellew. Both Sir Richard Strachan and Captain Moore regretted his removal. There was something of

professional spirit, common to both these officers. They had the same opinions on most points of service, and had entire confidence in each other. Both were zealous, enterprising, and brave, and the service they were together employed on, particularly suited their bold and active character.

On the 5th October, the Melampus captured the Rayon, of fourteen guns.

On the 16th January, 1798, the Melampus captured the Belliqueuse, of twenty guns.

On the 23rd January the Melampus captured the Volage, of twenty guns. In Sir Graham Moore's Journal, there is the following note on this affair:—

"I had disguised the ship, by having the fore and mizen top-gallant masts struck, and she stood towards us, till we were very nearly within gunshot of her, when she made all sail from us. We kept so much on the angle of her quarter that she was obliged to yaw, in order to bring her two heavy guns to bear as stern chasers. Soon after she began to fire at us, her main topmast went by the board. I saw plainly that she was a large corvette, but I could see no colours at all. I thought they meant to surrender; but that in the confusion of the wreck of their main topmast they had neglected to hoist their colours, and haul them down again, in token of surrendering. I therefore was extremely unwilling to fire at her;

so we shot up, intending to hail her. As we drew up under her lee, they got clear of the wreck of the main topmast; and, bearing up, as if to run us aboard, gave us their broadside, and a very smart fire of musquetry. We returned their fire, and wore round along with them to prevent them from boarding us. She passed under our stern, and, as we came to the wind on the other tack, we carried away the mizen topsail yard in the slings, and had a good deal of our running rigging cut away. I saw she had hoisted her colours at the mizen top mast head, just before she fired into us. When on the other side of us, she tried to cross our fore foot; but we filled, and shot close up to her, and I believe should have sunk her, had she not after one more broadside struck. I had ordered the men at the main deck guns to raise the breeches of their metal, seeing that most of our shot went over her; and they seemed well pointed for doing their business when she struck. She proved to be the Volage corvette, lent to, and fitted by the merchants of Nantes, mounting twenty nine-pounders, and two long eighteen-pounders. Two of my best men were killed in this business, and three dangerously wounded. One of the men killed was my coxswain, who had been with me these six years; he fell close to me, but I did not see him, being engaged working the ship. I am glad I did not see him fall, for I

loved him. He was a fellow of infinite sang froid, a true English sailor. The Volage is one of the finest corvettes I ever saw; her commander is a Capitaine de Frégate in the French Navy; a seaman, and certainly a brave man. But if he had shewn his colours at first, he certainly would have got a much better warming."

The Bellequeuse and Volage, as well as the Etna, were both commissioned for the service.

The Melampus was withdrawn from the Brest station in June, 1798, and joined a squadron of frigates off the coast of Ireland.

In the early part of October, Sir John Borlase Warren arrived in the Canada, with the Robust, Foudroyant, and Magnanime, and took the Melampus and the other frigates under his orders.

The Amelia, Ethalion, and Anson, which had been previously detached by Sir John Warren, joined the squadron on the 10th of October [a]. They had fallen in with the French ships, and had kept company with them for eighteen days; and

[a] English force in the action off the coast of Ireland, on the 13th October, 1798:—

Foudroyant	.	80 guns, Captain Sir Thomas Byard.
Canada	.	74 guns, Commodore Sir John Borlase Warren.
Robust	. .	74 guns, Captain Edward Thornborough.
Anson	. .	44 guns, Captain Philip H. Durham.
Magnanime	.	44 guns, Captain the Hon. M. De Courcy.
Amelia	. .	38 guns, Captain the Hon. Charles Herbert.
Ethalion	. .	38 guns, Captain George Countess.
Melampus	.	36 guns, Captain Graham Moore.

when they parted, on the 4th of October, the French were steering for the coast of Ireland; their squadron consisting of one line of battle ship, eight frigates, and a schooner. Sir John Warren immediately sent off dispatches to the several commanding officers on the coast, to say he expected the enemy the following day.

The following particulars of the movements of the squadron, and of the action that took place on the 12th of May, are copied from Sir Graham Moore's Journal.

"At noon on the 11th, the enemy's squadron was discovered to windward, and the signal for a general chase was thrown out by the Canada. The squadron carried a very great press of sail all night; and the Anson, which was to windward, carried away her mizen mast, which obliged her to bear up to get clear of the wreck, which threw her out. Sir John Warren ordered me to keep on the lee bow of the Foudroyant, which was on his lee bow, lest the enemy should attempt to bear away, and cross to leeward of our ships. Several of our ships split their sails in the very heavy squalls, which prevailed all night, of wind, hail, and rain.

"In the morning of the 12th, the enemy's squadron was discovered to windward. The Canada, Foudroyant, and Melampus, were to leeward of them, and they seemed disposed to edge

down upon us. The Canada, which had no main topsail bent, wore round their sternmost ships, which were before, on the same tack with us, and crossed to windward of them, while the Robust and Magnanime, brought their rear to action. The rest of our ships, viz., the Ethalion and Amelia, were a long way to windward of the French fleet; so that in fact, in the morning, the French were in the middle of our ships, but in a better state for action, being in a body; while we were very much scattered. Finding myself alone, with the French between the Melampus and Canada, I bore down to join the Foudroyant to leeward.

"Sir John Warren had made the signal for the ships to engage and form, as they best could, for mutual support. I tacked along with the Foudroyant; but seeing that this manœuvre would throw us out, I wore immediately, and made all sail for the body of the enemy's squadron, the Foudroyant doing the same.

"At this time the French commodore's ship Le Hoche, which had lost her main topmast in the chase the day before, was engaged with the Magnanime and Robust, being supported by some of his heavy frigates. The rest of the French ships drew out in good order, apparently with the design of receiving the Foudroyant and Melampus. The light winds, and the swell, retarded us a good deal, and we were a good deal exposed to the

enemy's fire, before I would open, being afraid of firing into the Robust and Magnanime. When we got a clear place between these two, we opened a very well directed fire on Le Hoche; and then, passing the Robust, we continued to fire at her antagonist, until she struck; the Robust being at that time on her beam, and cutting her up. As soon as Le Hoche struck, we passed on after the rest, the Melampus being the leading ship; the Foudroyant on her bow, about six points. The next ship, La Camille, struck on receiving a few distant shot from the Foudroyant, and on seeing us all ready to give her a close fire, being well up on her quarter. I determined to engage the frigates successively as we came up with them, and to leave them to be taken possession of by the ships astern; viz., the Robust and Magnanime, which had both suffered considerably in their rigging.

"At this time, the Canada was the nearest ship to us astern. A French frigate, L'Embuscade, which had suffered nothing apparently, was on our bow, firing her stern-chase guns at us. We shot up alongside, but not so soon as I wished; and opened such a fire upon her, at about a cable's length distance, as brought down her colours in about ten minutes. We then passed on. The next was La Bellone. The wind was so light that we gained very little upon her. She hauled

close to the wind, to separate herself from the remaining five frigates, and to get off to windward. I hauled up after her, being the weathermost and nearest to her. The Ethalion, which prior to this had only fired distant shot, being favoured by the breeze, passed to windward of us, in chase of La Bellone, and soon after shot up abreast of her; and after a spirited resistance, took her.

"The remaining five French frigates were now making off with all possible sail set; the Canada, Foudroyant, Amelia, and Melampus in pursuit. The Amelia was sent by Sir John Warren to assist the Robust and Magnanime in securing the prizes. We were the weather ship, and kept to the northward, for the purpose of hemming them in with the land.

"At this time, we saw the Anson directly to leeward, and in the track of the flying enemy, without her mizen mast. She stood for the headmost of the five ships, in the handsomest manner, and endeavoured to close with her, but the enemy's ship, which we have since found was La Loire, not being at all disabled, by carrying a great press of sail, passed the Anson, the two ships engaging as she passed. The Anson then stood for the van of the four other French ships, and engaged them, keeping up a tremendous fire. The sternmost of the four hauled up astern of the Anson, and passed her to windward, firing at her as

she passed. The three others were engaged with the Anson, until some time after dark; but from the disabled state of that ship, she could not close with any one of them; and they at length all passed her.

"A little before dark, the Canada made our signal to observe the enemy's motions during the night.

"Soon after the four French frigates had passed the Anson, the Canada, Foudroyant, and Melampus likewise passed her; we were on their weather bow; the wind being at this time north-west; and the four French frigates nearly abreast of Tillen Head.

"My design was to pass on to the headmost one, leaving the others to the Canada and Foudroyant; as it was impossible for them to weather the land of Broadhaven, or even to fetch Killala, as the wind then was, I had no fear of more than the headmost of all escaping.

"At eleven o'clock at night, the weather became more hazy, and the wind took us aback from the southward; this brought the enemy's ships on our weather quarter, we being on the larboard tack. I lost sight of them; but as I was perfectly sure where they were, I kept a light at the mizen topmast head all night, to lead the Canada and Foudroyant. My design was to carry a press of sail all night, so as to be able

to weather the enemy on the other tack, if they stood off; and if they stood on the other tack, they must either be run on shore or be taken.

"At daylight we tacked, but the wind still baulked us, backing to the southward, so as to enable both the Canada and Foudroyant to weather us. Two only of the enemy's ships appearing in sight, a long way to windward, I was convinced that three at least, if not four of them, must be in shore of us, either in Sligo or Donegal Bay. I made the signal for the two ships; and the Foudroyant's signal was made to chase, and our signal to pass within hail. Sir John Warren informed me that the Anson had chased a ship at three o'clock in the morning, and he thought it probable she might be gone into Killybegs. I told him we had not lost sight of the ships until just before the shift of wind; that I had no doubt of the two ships to windward being the headmost of the enemy, and of there being at least two, but I believed three, in shore of us. Sir John said, 'I believe there may be one in Killybegs; you will go and see. If there is but one you will take her; if there are two or three, you will make the signal to me, and I will come to your assistance.'"

Captain Moore then made sail from the Canada.

The wind at the time was blowing fresh di-

rectly off shore. By sunset the Melampus was in sight of Killybegs, but not near enough to see what was there. She continued during the night to stand across and across the bay, keeping a very sharp look-out. Captain Moore had been right in his guess as to the number of the enemy's ships in shore. His journal is thus continued:—

"At midnight, we saw a large ship coming down upon us. As soon as she drew near she hauled up on the opposite tack, and we saw another at a little distance to windward of her."

Captain Moore's resolution was immediately taken. With that prompt and ready decision which has added so many brilliant pages to our naval history, he resolved instantly to attack them.

"We tacked and gave chase; the wind blowing as much as we could shew close-reefed topsails and courses to. We shot up alongside the nearest one, going at least ten knots, hailed, and received no intelligible answer; but seeing her to be a large frigate, and that she wanted to cross our stern and get to leeward of us, I fired a shot into her, and repeatedly ordered her to bring to. No answer. A broadside. Hailed again. Ordered her in French to bring to. No answer. Saw the other ship make a signal. Fired two more broadsides into her without receiving a shot in return. We heard them cry out, and they hoisted a light, and hauled it

down again. I supposed at the time that that was meant as a token of having surrendered; but, as she did not heave to, and the two ships at no time were going less than five knots, I told them in French and English that I would sink them if they did not put their helm a-starboard and heave to. This, however, although she never fired at us, she did not do, until she had received five or six broadsides, and been cut to pieces in her sails and rigging; when she threw up in the wind, and we sent the second lieutenant and twenty men on board of her, at a very considerable risk, as the wind had increased to a hard gale at south-east. We saw no more of the other ship, but lay to in very great anxiety close to the prize, until day-light, when we ran down under her stern, and found her to be a thirty-six gun frigate, and that her sails were cut into ribands. The gale had increased so much, that it was two days before we could get the officers out of her, and increase the number of our men on board. She proved to be La Resolue, of thirty-six long guns, twelve pounders, on the main deck, and four thirty-six pounder carronades; with 500 men, of whom 265 were the quadre of the regiment de Lee; that is to say, L'Etat Major, and the rest grenadiers. The other ship, which left us so civilly, was L'Immortalité, of forty guns, twenty-four pounders on the main deck."

The weather continued so boisterous, with the wind constantly blowing from the southward, that it was found impossible to get the prize into any port in Ireland. After beating about for several days in a series of gales of wind, which prevented any exchange of prisoners, the Melampus succeeded in towing her prize into Greenock. Sir John Warren's action was fought at a very critical moment; and his success was of great importance to the country.

On the 26th of February, 1799, while cruising off Ushant, the Melampus captured Le Mercure, of twenty guns; and on the 16th of April, the Papillon, of fourteen guns.

On the 18th of April, while chasing a vessel which the prisoners of the Papillon knew to be the Nantois, of fourteen guns, she gave a yaw up in the wind, overset, and in two minutes went down. The Melampus, on seeing this dreadful catastrophe, hove to as soon as the sails could be taken in, as near the spot as possible; but not a vestige of her was to be seen.

On the 22d of February, 1800, Captain Moore sailed for the West Indies with a convoy, and orders to place himself under the command of Sir Hyde Parker.

In June, 1801, he experienced a very severe illness while in the Gulf of Mexico, the effects of which he afterwards felt, more or less, throughout

his life. He determined, however, not to quit the Melampus "while he could hold up his head." In August his illness grew worse; he was wasting to a shadow, and could not have lived a month, had he continued to hold the command of the ship. He was obliged, therefore, to return to England. It cost him a great struggle to quit the Melampus, which he had commanded for upwards of five years. On his taking leave of the ship's crew, many of them were in tears. He reached Portsmouth in October, reduced to a perfect skeleton, and was removed by slow stages to the house of his father (Dr. Moore) at Richmond; nor was it till the end of the following year that he at all began to rally from the shock his constitution had suffered.

Peace was signed in March, 1802, but it soon became evident that it could not be of long duration. Armaments and equipments soon recommenced, and in April, 1803, war with France was again declared. Captain Moore, though not re-established in health, immediately solicited employment. He was appointed to the Indefatigable in July, and joined the Channel fleet under Admiral Cornwallis; and for a long time formed one of the in-shore squadron off Brest. The daring intrepidity of our in-shore squadrons at that time often drew on them the observation of the country, and must always remain a source of proud re-

membrance to the British navy. In reconnoitring they were accustomed to push into the very mouths of the enemy's ports, frequently under fire of the batteries on either side of their harbours.

In September, 1804, Captain Moore was detached from the Brest fleet, with sealed orders. On being opened, they directed him to proceed, with all possible dispatch, off Cadiz. The English government had received intelligence that certain treasure ships, laden with bullion and specie to a great amount, and destined for the pecuniary exigencies and service of France, were expected from South America. These vessels Captain Moore had orders to detain, and bring into an English port.

On arriving off Cadiz, the Indefatigable was joined by the Medusa, Amphion, and Lively frigates[a]. The following extract is taken from Captain Moore's Journal at that time :—

" September. On the morning of the 5th, at seven o'clock, the Medusa made the signal for seeing four sail bearing west by south. I immediately

[a] English force in the action off Cape St. Mary, October 5, 1804 :—

Indefatigable, 44 guns, Captain Graham Moore.
Lively . . 38 guns, Captain G. E. Hammond.
Amphion . 32 guns, Captain Samuel Sutton.
Medusa . . 32 guns, Captain John Gore.

threw out the signal for a general chase, and the squadron instantly made all sail. We were at this time about nine leagues south-west from Cape St. Mary. We soon perceived them to be a squadron of four large Spanish frigates. They formed in line of battle ahead, as we drew near; the van-ship bearing a commodore's broad pennant; the next being the largest, and a beautiful frigate, carried a rear-admiral's flag. They carried a press of sail on the wind, steering in for Cadiz. The Medusa being the headmost of our ships, as she drew near took in her studding sails, and hauled up close on the leading ship's weather boom. The Indefatigable took up a similar position, close to the Rear-Admiral. The Amphion and Lively, each as they came up, formed opposite to a Spanish ship. I had previously made the signal to prepare for battle. I now hailed the Rear-Admiral. 'From whence came you?' 'South America.' 'Where are you bound to?' 'Cadiz.' I then desired them to bring to, as I wished to send a boat on board; but they either did not or would not understand me; but continued to carry a press of sail. I then fired a shot across the Admiral's hawse; on which he shortened sail; and I sent Lieutenant Ascott on board with a verbal message, that 'I had orders to detain the Spanish squadron, and carry them to England; that I earnestly wished to shed no blood in the execution

of them; but, that his determination must be made instantly." The Admiral called the officers together, wished to gain time, &c. After waiting some time, and seeing they were all ready, and pointing their guns at us, I made the signal for the boat to return, and fired a shot ahead of the Admiral. As soon as Ascott returned, and informed me they had treasure on board, I bore close down on his weather bow, and fired another shot ahead of him. At this moment I observed the Admiral's second astern, fire into the Amphion. The Admiral fired a shot at us. I made the signal for close action, and in an instant we were engaged from van to rear. Captain Sutton, of the Amphion, had, just before this, placed himself close to leeward of his opponent, which I was very glad to see. In less than ten minutes his opponent blew up with a horrible explosion, and in less than half an hour the Admiral hauled down his colours; as did the rear ship, opposed to the Lively.

"The Commodore was still engaged with the Medusa, but was carrying a great deal of sail, and seemed to outsail the Medusa, on which I made the signal for the Lively to chase, and as she passed, hailed Captain Hammond, and desired him to make all sail to the assistance of the Medusa. She accordingly passed on, and as soon as I had sent a division with two lieutenants to take charge

of the Admiral's ship, I made sail towards the floating remains of the unfortunate Spanish ship that had blown up, in hopes of saving some, but nothing remained on the surface but a few dead bodies, floating pieces of the wreck, and quantities of ashes! The Amphion had saved forty men, one of whom was the second captain; all the rest perished. While we were securing the two ships that were taken, a running fight continued between the Spanish Commodore and the Medusa, which, as it appeared to us, would have probably ended in the Spaniard's escape, had not the Lively come up to windward, and forced him to surrender, late in the afternoon, and when we could only discern them from the mast head."

The Spanish squadron consisted of the Medée, of forty-two guns, La Fama, La Clara, and La Merceda, each of thirty-two guns, and with crews of from 280 to 300 men each. The specie on board the three former frigates amounted to three millions and a half of dollars; that on board the Merceda to eight hundred thousand dollars. The Admiral, Don Josef de Bustamente, expressed a wish to remain on board La Medée, with the officers of his staff, among whom was the major of the squadron. His family, consisting of his wife, five daughters, and three sons, perished in La Merceda. He happened to have gone on board La Medée with one of his sons, from whence he be-

held their dreadful fate. This deplorable event is thus further alluded to in Captain Moore's journal:

"Yesterday I had to send a party of seamen on board La Medée, and I took that opportunity of going on board to see the Admiral; he was in bed, and very ill. I had a great deal of conversation with him. I endeavoured to sooth his feelings, by telling him that even before his second blew up our squadron was much superior to his. He wished to know if I considered the Spanish ships as prizes, and if I would hoist English colours on board of them when we arrived in England. I told him my orders went to detaining them; that I had no orders to make prizes; that his own flag, and the Spanish colours, should be hoisted when we met the fleet, or arrived in England; and that the rest would depend on the orders of the government. He introduced to me his major, a most respectable man in appearance, an old captain in the navy, who had been thirty years in South America; his wife, with all his children, one boy remaining with him on board La Medée, perished before his eyes! The wife amiable, the daughters beautiful. This unfortunate officer seemed to feel his terrible loss with the sensibility of a man, and the resignation of a virtuous and pious Christian. I could scarcely bear to look in his mild and benevolent countenance. He pre-

sented me his only remaining boy: 'There, sir, is all that remains to me.'"

On the 19th of October, the squadron, with the detained ships, anchored at Plymouth.

Previous to the detention of these vessels, the English government had been under the necessity of making repeated remonstrances at the court of Madrid, on the facilities afforded to the equipment of French ships in the Spanish ports. These remonstrances proving ineffectual, the British minister was withdrawn from Madrid, on the 14th of December; and on the 22nd of January following, war was declared with Spain.

Captain Moore, on his return to England, resumed his station off Brest, in the Fame. In August, 1807, he was appointed to the Marlborough.

In November, 1807, the Prince Regent, with the royal family of Portugal, embarked at Lisbon, to proceed to the Brazils. They sailed from the Tagus on the 27th, with a fleet of five line of battle ships, and three frigates, and accompanied by a squadron under Captain Moore's command, consisting of the London, ninety-eight guns, and the Monarch, Bedford, and Marlborough, of seventy-four guns each. On quitting Brazils to return to England, he was charged with an autograph letter from the Princess Dowager of Brazils, to the King of England, recommending him to his Majesty's

gracious notice, and acknowledging in the most flattering terms to Captain Moore, his zeal and attention throughout the period of his attendance on the royal family.

On his arrival in England, Captain Moore joined the fleet commanded by Sir Richard Strachan, destined for the Scheldt expedition. At the close of that ill-judged and ill-fated undertaking, he was entrusted with the naval duties on shore, and, in December, brought off the last of our troops from Walcheren.

In 1811, he was offered the command of the Sovereign yacht, but he declined it, considering it would interfere with his being employed on active service. His motives were commended by the Board of Admiralty; and in January, 1812, he was appointed to the Chatham.

Soon after his promotion, in 1812, he hoisted his flag, on board the Fame, as commander in chief in the Baltic; at the close of the war, he was serving with Lord Keith, on board the Ville de Paris, as captain of the Channel fleet.

Admiral Moore was one of the officers first distinguished at the close of the war; and in January, 1815, was appointed a Knight Commander of the Bath.

In April, 1815, Napoleon escaping from Elba, landed in France, and war instantly again became general. Sir Graham Moore immediately solicited

employment, and was appointed to the Caledonia, and about to proceed to the Mediterranean as second in command, when peace was finally established in Europe, by the battle of Waterloo.

In 1816, Sir Graham Moore was called to the Board of Admiralty. In 1819, he was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and at the close of the year appointed to the command in the Mediterranean. In 1820 he hoisted his flag, and sailed in the Rochefort in August, to assume his command.

He arrived at Naples at a very critical period in the history of that country. It will be sufficient to notice here, that the king embarked very soon after Sir Graham's arrival at Naples; and sailed for Leghorn on his route to Laybach, where the allied sovereigns were then assembled in congress. While at Leghorn, the king addressed a letter to Sir Graham Moore, acknowledging and thanking him for his essential services. On his Majesty's return to his dominions, he conferred on Sir Graham Moore the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, "for the important services rendered to his Majesty and the royal family, by the British squadron, during the revolution." The restrictions regarding the conferring of foreign orders on British officers, precluded Sir Graham Moore from receiving this mark of honour at his Majesty's hands.

In the British minister's letter written to Lord Londonderry at his Majesty's desire, he observes, "I need not repeat to your lordship the expressions of regret, with which this communication was received; as your lordship is already aware of the warm feeling of gratitude and esteem which his Majesty and the royal family entertain towards Sir Graham for the whole of his conduct during the critical events of the last year."

Another public event of great interest was in progress during the period of Sir Graham Moore's command in the Mediterranean,—the Greek Revolution. The animosity of the Turks and of the Greeks, was at that time at its height; each party driven to fresh fury by new atrocities daily inflicted on each other. It was a proper field for exertion, for such an officer as Sir Graham Moore, to endeavour to mitigate the cruelties and horrors thus perpetrated. He was most ably seconded in these benevolent endeavours, by the officers of the squadron under his command; and in cooperation with Sir Thomas Maitland, he succeeded in rescuing many victims from destined pillage and murder.

In 1820, Sir Graham Moore was appointed a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

At the termination of the usual period of command, he returned to England.

In 1836, he was made Grand Cross of the Bath; and in 1837, promoted to the rank of Admiral.

In 1839, he hoisted his flag for the last time, to assume the command at Plymouth.

It was during this period, that Sir Graham Moore experienced unquestionable indications of declining health; he continued, however, to fulfil the duties of the command till the appointed time for his being relieved. But on his return to Brook Farm, his friends were greatly struck with his altered appearance.

In the early part of 1843 the change became more evident. In the summer, a rapid break up of constitution shewed itself, which continued, his strength fast declining, till November, when his mortal career ended. He died on the 25th November, and was buried in the Village of Cobham. Living to see his exemplary life, rewarded with all that should support and cheer life's close.

"As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,"
"He gave his honours to the world again,
"His blessed part to Heaven, and slept in peace."

Sir Graham Moore married on the 9th of March, 1812, Dora, daughter of the late Thomas Eden, Esq., and niece of William, first Lord Auckland. From this marriage a son remains, of whom the writer will only allow himself to say, that he is worthy of the name of Moore; that he ardently feels what is due to, and expected from that name;

and that his fine nature, his highest hopes, and his ambition, alike destine him to distinction in her Majesty's service.

It would be difficult by any description to convey a just idea of Sir Graham Moore's character. Its leading feature was integrity, with candour and singleness of purpose; great simplicity, combined with earnestness and depth of character. He had a strong mind, a sound judgment, and a vigorous understanding. He was enthusiastic in love of just fame; but singularly modest and reserved in his pretensions; alike shunning presuming claims, and shrinking from unmerited reward. He could not have been happy with the bare reputation of merit; he loved virtue for itself. His disposition was generous, open, frank. His views disinterested. He was ambitious; but it was the ambition of a high and good nature, divested of all shade of envy; emulous of good deeds, but desiring to deserve, rather than to reap the fame attending them. His natural character bore a perfect resemblance to that of his brother Sir John Moore. Like him, he possessed a greatness of mind, with a strictness, even a sternness of virtue in all that regarded himself, that without his perfect generosity and benevolence, might have made him appear austere, if not impracticable, for the common purposes and daily intercourse of life;

but with this absolute, inflexible rectitude of mind and purpose for his own guidance, he had the greatest indulgence for the unwilling or the unconscious faults of others. There were also many acquired and personal traits of character in the two brothers, closely resembling each other. The lustre of virtue, loyalty, and patriotism shone forth alike in both; they were animated by the same superiority to all personal and selfish considerations. Like his brother, he never aimed at exhibition, or stooped to disguise; never admitted intimacy where he could not esteem character. Like his brother, too, he lived for the service; entertaining, like him, a total disregard for comfort or for life, in comparison with duty. The same zeal animated them in the love of their profession; and gave that predominant feeling, so remarkable in both, of belonging to their country, and of entire devotedness to its service. With this spirit, common to both, each bore strong and distinctive marks of his own profession. What was disciplined valour and daring chivalry in the soldier, was in the sailor irresistible dash, and consciousness of invincibility. After Sir John Moore's lamented death, Sir Graham Moore became almost universally associated with his memory in the army; and, as one mutual affection, the same views and purposes, and noble

ambition, identified them in life, so will the remembrance of their names ever be associated and inseparable in the two services[a].

With the qualities that fitted him for command, Sir Graham Moore had that of inspiring confidence in others. In conception bold, in decision ready, in execution prompt, in action calm, in danger self-possessed, he seemed to have acquired every quality which distinguishes the English sailor. He always habituated himself to weigh consequences. On all services of enterprise he considered the object to be attained, with the probable sacrifice attending it; ever studying how to avoid a useless loss of life; never venturing any thing for his own individual fame; or exposing his men to unnecessary rash exploits, without the chance of results necessary or beneficial to the service. He never neglected the suggestions of others; but in adopting them, he reserved his own judgment. He never censured without cause; and never with harshness, except to the idle or unzealous; but he never withheld deserved censure,

[a] The writer has never yet seen adequately described all the combination of noble qualities that united in the character of Sir John Moore. He feels assured, that even General William Napier, who, in his History of the Peninsular War, has best defined them, would, were it possible, desire the possession of still more ardent and energetic powers of writing to express his just and enthusiastic admiration of Sir John Moore's exalted and heroic nature.

or permitted the smallest deviation or breach of discipline. A coxcomb in the service provoked him. During his command of the Sybil off the French coast with Sir Richard Strachan's squadron, he was compelled to return into port for a new foremast. The weather was very bad, and greatly retarded their work; but both officers and men worked day and night; and they completed their repairs in an extraordinary short space of time, and sailed to rejoin Sir Richard Strachan without an officer or man having asked leave to go ashore. Sir Graham assembled the ship's crew to thank them for their exertions; they answered him with three cheers. The writer has adverted to this circumstance to shew that there is a talent in command of exciting energy in officers and men; and that English sailors and soldiers, when appealed to by an officer who has gained their confidence, have no bounds to their endurance of privation or fatigue, or readiness for sacrifice of any nature.

Sir Graham Moore unquestionably owed much of his superiority of character to natural advantages, yet he was always alive to the duty of cultivating and improving them. With this view he went, at the close of the war in 1783, to study on the continent. When at home, in the few and short intervals that occurred in his removal from ship to ship, he studied the Latin Classics

with his father, Dr. Moore. He had a mind that could not be idle, and his memory was so retentive, that he could repeat the works of any favourite author by heart—Shakspeare, for instance, the first favourite of all authors with him. He never passed a day without some hours of diligent reading. He thus acquired a classical turn of mind; but his love and pursuit of information were always secondary to the duties of his profession. He never ceased to be a sailor; and refinement and dignity of mind were in him singularly blended with the peculiarities of character we associate with a heart of oak.

Few officers have had the good fortune to be more continually employed than Sir Graham Moore. With the exception of the interval occasioned by his West Indian illness, he was almost constantly afloat. He at times regretted that he had not shared in the great naval victories of the country; but at the periods at which they occurred, he was generally detached for some special duty or command; always, however, under circumstances of distinction to himself, and he had a paramount feeling in the service, that on whatever duty he was employed, *that* was his post. Such regrets, however, will always at times recur to a mind like Sir Graham Moore's. But the truth is that no service throughout the war was attended with more harassing fatigue and anxiety

than the blockade of the French ports; nor can any praise do justice to the persevering zeal of the officers and crews employed through scenes of such protracted and incessant watchfulness and danger. Long before the close of the war, they had annihilated the French coasting trade. They kept the sea in all weathers, during the gales, and the long nights of the winter months; in Channel fogs; watching the setting of currents; the rise and fall of tides; frequently steering only by chance soundings among the shoals and reefs of an enemy's shore; often embayed under the fire of their guns; they dared every danger, and mastered every difficulty short of controlling the elements. Such duties call for exertions more arduous, enduring, and energetic, than the exciting achievements of battle; and have contributed no less than the brilliancy of our victories, to give the English navy its imperishable name.

In times of political excitement, such as those in which Sir Graham Moore lived, it cannot be supposed that he beheld passing events with indifference. Politics, at least such politics as sailors and soldiers allow themselves to entertain, were with him principles, not party interests. Liberal to the last degree himself, he desired equal freedom and liberty to all; but he rightly saw, and defined, how easily liberty becomes licence. He sincerely desired reform of all evils; but reform

by legislation, not by agitation; correcting such abuses as will creep into all human institutions; but holding inviolate the immutable principles of government. He advocated equal laws, and equal facilities of law for all men. He always upheld the rights and dignity of station; respect to rank; and strict obedience to authority; while kindness and consideration invariably marked his conduct to those of lower station than himself in life. He honoured a sincere patriot; but he had no indulgence for agitators for party or selfish purposes.

There are qualities of character which are sometimes considered as not belonging to the world, but which nevertheless chiefly influence men's actions and feelings; such as religion. On this subject it will be sufficient to say, that Sir Graham Moore's religion was in the Bible. He had a true and fervid feeling of the greatness of the Supreme Being, which influenced all his thoughts and acts; while he felt, without repining at the limits of human understanding. He had an aversion to every species of cant; but to religious or political cant particularly. He in consequence invariably abstained from all disputation and sectarian differences, which he considered as presumptuous and vain. Loyalty may be said to have formed part of his religion, for it was quite a religious principle with him; he regarded the sovereign not only as the source of all earthly

honour, but an anointed power to whom all earthly honour and sacredness of duty is due. There was in his loyalty the same earnestness and truth that stamped his character in every other respect; had he lived at a court, he would have been a Sully in the straightforward honesty and undisguised purposes of his counsel.

His mind retained its character, if not all its energy, to the last. During his illness, which was long, and at times of great suffering, his firmness never forsook him. Though lowness and depression were at times inevitable from the nature of his malady, even these gave way to the constancy attending his conscious rectitude and virtue. The fine impulses of his character often shone out in these painful moments; and, indeed, to the very close of his life. He continued to think of, and speak of public events, and of all those persons whom he most loved and respected. Among his last prayers, his country was remembered, the safety and preservation of her church and throne, and England's greatness, power, and happiness, to remotest ages. To his family he has left a name, which, after his heroic brother's life, cannot be exalted; but he has added to it all the virtues and kind affections of domestic life; has given it new claims to affection, honour, and respect, and must himself be remembered among those men who have lived to raise the name and extend the power of their country.

Some points of character have intentionally not been noticed; virtues, which even the hand of friendship forbears to touch on. Over these a veil is drawn; their memory is left in that sacred keeping, where they have ever been most dearly appreciated, and where they will ever prove the chiefest source of earthly consolation under his irreparable loss.

The writer's task is now finished. Not, indeed, as he would wish, but as well as he could perform it. But he offers no apologies for its faults; for he knows that in both services it will be judged alone by his motives, not by its merits.

The chief benefit of biography is its usefulness to those who live after us, and when a professional life at all justifies public notice, it becomes less a duty to the friend we have lost to record his merits, than to hold them up as an example for the benefit of others.

There are now few of Sir Graham Moore's cotemporaries living in either service. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the writer does not presume to address himself to them; but there are young and ardent spirits in her Majesty's service, worthy the noble career they are entering on, and to them he would point out the paths to fame and virtue in the example of Sir Graham Moore; and if in his endeavour thus to do honour to Sir Graham Moore's memory, he should

in any instance, or in any degree have succeeded in awakening energy, animating zeal, exciting proper ambition, exalting sense of honour, arresting thoughtlessness, confirming virtue, or fixing reality in religion, one of the most ardent and fervent wishes he can ever know will be fulfilled; and in pursuing Sir Graham Moore's example, he ventures in all earnestness to assure them, that they will live honoured and die lamented.

If to any officer not acquainted with Sir Graham Moore, any part of this attempt to describe his character should appear to be overdrawn, the writer has only to say, that knowing Sir Graham Moore, and the unpretending truth and sincerity of his character, he could not have brought himself, either in justice or affection, to have said more than what he felt to be due to him; but also, he cannot bring himself to say less. But whatever virtues he possessed, the writer, if conscientiously called on to enumerate his faults, could not name one. He was a man whose friendship conferred honour; whose life exalted virtue, and taught the way to death. In him the Queen has lost a devoted subject; the country a patriot; the poor man a friend; and the service an example.

The writer has addressed this Memoir to the officers of both services; knowing that admiration

of such a character, and regret for his loss, will be common to them both. To the officers of his own profession particularly, who best knew, and who must most lament him, it is addressed with the offer of his most sincere and respectful condolence.

G. Woodfall and Son, Angel Court, Skinner Street, London.

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